Ralph Lapp Challenges Waste in Space, P. 3

After Ten Months of Severe and Highly Touted Bombing North and South

"We never realized until recently that the enemy could reinforce so quickly and so greatly. The enemy is reinforcing more quickly than we are."

—Brig. Gen. Vinh Loc, commander of the South Vietnamese II Corps, which includes the central highlands, as quoted by Hanson W. Baldwin, New York Times, *Dec. 6.*

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The Price At Home of the Destruction We Wreak Abroad

This war, this distant slaughter of a small nation, will exact a price from us in all kinds of ways. One is politically. We will soon have as many men engaged in Vietnam as we did in Korea, and it is useful to look back and see what Korea did. The war broke out in July, 1950. In the Congressional elections the following November, the outpouring of voters was the greatest in any previous non-Presidential year, and the Republicans won a majority of the votes. They picked up five seats in the Senate, 31 in the House and 6 Governorships. The result was that a Republican-Dixiecrat coalition took over control of Congress, ending Mr. Truman's hopes of enacting a progressive Fair Deal program. Two years later, for the first time in 20 years, the Republicans won the Presidency on an implied promise to end the war. The Korean war poisoned our internal politics; it was the heyday of McCarthyism, and it set back the tasks of domestic reform by more than two decades. All this is beginning to repeat itself. If the war is still on next November, the Democrats have little chance of holding the gains they made in last year's anti-Goldwater landslide.

Useful Scapegoat

Another effect is in the economic sphere. The second World War and the Korean war came at a time when American manpower and resources were underemployed. This one comes at a time of close to full employment. The rise in the Federal Reserve discount rate to 4½%, the highest rate in 30 years, is an index of the concern felt over the inflationary effect of piling a major war effort on an already overheated economy. "I regret, as do most Americans," Mr. Johnson said in objecting to the Federal Reserve Board's order, "any action that raises the cost of credit, particularly for homes, schools, hospitals and factories." LBJ has rarely been more transparent. The coming escalation of the Vietnamese war to Korean proportions and perhaps beyond it was bound to reduce the number of new homes, schools, and hospitals. By one means or another, labor and resources must be diverted to war tasks as the escalation goes on. If the rise in the discount rate discourages home-building and damps down civilian expansion, that is exactly what the military effort requires.

Wm. McChesney Martin, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, did Mr. Johnson a favor in raising the discount rate. Mr. Martin provided the White House with a scapegoat on which to divert the anger of the cheap money men in Congress and of the labor movement. "Naked greed" was the protest of George Meany, who supports a wider war. "Brutal" was the protest of Senator Douglas of Illinois, a mouthpiece since MacArthur's time of war on China. Do these bitter and war-hungry old men really think we can pile a major war effort on a civilian boom? It's Johnson's war, not Martin's rise in the rediscount rate, which is the heart of the economic problem. The rate rise may or may not be the way to deal with the domestic inflationary effects. Economics is less a science than a modern form of skilfully ambiguous Delphic prophecy. The rate rise seems to have set off a new stock market boom, as the speculators scent the inflation the rise in rediscount rates was intended to discourage. In the stock market's dizzy universe, investors are buying prime stocks which yield less than 3 percent when they can now earn 5½ on time deposits. This is rational only as a form of flight from the dollar in expectation of a much bigger war.

Everywhere this is bad news for the poor. For the underdeveloped nations, a rise in interest rates is catastrophic. Even the wealthier nations tend to catch pneumonia when the U.S. gets a cold in the head. The new Administration pressure against U.S. foreign investments, and the higher U.S. interest rates, will cut down the supply of dollars abroad at a time when the pound sterling is shaky. A financial "domino" effect is possible. At home, from two ends of the political spectrum come warnings that the "war on poverty", minuscule as it may be, is likely to be the first casualty of wider war in the Far East. "Defense spending is skyrocketing as a result of the war in Vietnam," declared George Mahon, the able chairman of the House Appropriations Com-

(*Continued on Page Four*)

Warning From The Churches

"More and more the mass media begin to reflect a psychology of inevitable war, so that every criticism of U.S. policy from any quarter is made to sound like treason on the ground that it gives aid and comfort to the enemy."

—From the Policy Statement and Message on Vietnam adopted by the general board of the National Council of Churches, urging a suspension of bombings, negotiations to include the National Liberation Front and freedom of choice for the people of South Vietnam, with U.S. forces to withdraw in favor of an international peacekeeping force. Text in N.Y. Times, *Dec. 4.*

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Civil Rights Commission Tries to Make Attorney General Face The Realities

Getting Negroes to Register in The South More Than A Legal Problem

By Peter Osnos

Nicholas DeB. Katzenbach is an enlightened man, certainly no racist. But on the issue of the 1965 Voting Rights Act he has displayed an unbecoming legalistic stubborness. He refuses to see that implementing the new law requires much more than overseeing the abolition of the literacy test and dispatching several dozen Federal examiners to counties where "flagrant violations" occur.

Economic Reprisals for Registration

Negroes, who have been conditioned by fear, intimidation and ignorance for generations, cannot suddenly be expected to venture into the home of the white "man" to register (as they have been asked to do in some North Carolina counties). In Jackson, Miss. last weekend, Negro tenant farmers and sharecroppers told a U.S. Civil Rights Commission meeting of threats that registration would mean loss of their farms. It would take an act of great courage for these people to go to the county courthouse to register with someone who may well be the brother or friend of their landlord. In North Carolina, Mississippi and the rest of the South, Federal registrars, traveling by car, should be visiting the homes of Negroes to explain the law and encouraging them to register.

Instead, Mr. Katzenbach adheres to the notion that legislation alone will eventually lure all 2 million unregistered Negroes. Rather than call upon the resources of the Federal government for a massive registration drive, the Attorney General would have the civil rights groups again carry the burden and take the risks. Katzenbach is so anxious to foster local "voluntary compliance" that he even refuses to announce the presence of the few examiners he sends.

According to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission report on the first two months of the Voting Rights Act, the Department of Justice rejected as "inappropriate" a Civil Service Commission suggestion to send announcements of the opening of Federal registration offices to all county residents. Justice also vetoed any "affirmative effort of the Federal government to publicize the programs in the examiner counties."

Although based on information compiled in early November, the Civil Rights Commission report is the best measure to date of the success of the Voting Rights Act. One thing is clear: the presence of Federal examiners—Katzenbach's soft and silent sell notwithstanding—significantly increases registration. Alabama is the best example. During August and September, 21,445 Negroes were registered in the six counties with Federal examiners. The total for the other 61 counties in the state was 12,040. In eight counties without Federal examiners not a single Negro was registered.

The report stops short of recommending that examiners be sent to all counties with a history of discriminatory registration practices. It does recommend examiners for all "political subdivisions" in which applicants are being turned away ostensibly because of inadequate facilities. This would include all those counties where registration is limited to a few days a month—often working days. At the very least, the Voting Rights Act should insure that every Negro who wants to register with a local official shall have the chance.

When the commission report was released, Mr. Katzenbach fired off a 7 page letter criticizing the authors for using old figures and failing to consult with Justice. The figures are old, the attitudes are the same. The Attorney General's objections, it appears, are more to interpretation than to fact.

What A Firm Federal Judge Can Do

The four Alabama convictions in no way lessen the need for new legislation to combat racial violence. Anniston is not a typical Alabama town. Two huge military bases—Fort McClellan and the Anniston Army Depot— have attracted many outsiders; including presumably, many moderate Northerners. It is the kind of a town where a $20,000 reward could quickly be raised. And, according to one of the fund raisers, "they could have gotten $200,000." Before a new era of conscience can be proclaimed, convictions must be won in the Selmas and the Haynevilles. So long as they exist, Federal laws guaranteeing protection for Negro and white civil rights workers will be necessary. The trial of the three Klansmen in Montgomery illustrated the efficacy of the Federal presence. Federal District Court Judge Frank M. Johnson insisted, as few state judges would have done, that the jury continue its deliberations after it had declared itself unable to agree. But for his supervision and pressure there would have been no verdict. The 95-year-old conspiracy law under which the men were tried is a weak one. The last conviction in 1947, was overturned. A new law is in order.

U.S. Farm Agency Boasts 5,000 Negro Employes in South But All But 51 Are Temporary

The Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service is the branch of the Department of Agriculture that dispenses $2 billion annually to Southern farmers in price support loans, direct farm subsidies and conservation projects. Officials at ASCS have been boasting recently that the agency employed almost 5,000 Negroes during 1965. In 1964, according to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, the number was 15. A few questions put to ASCS last week, revealed that the agency really has very little to boast about. All but 51 of the 5,000 Negro employes were "temporaries" hired for the summer to measure crops. The remaining 51—17 in county offices and 34 in state offices—presently hold custodial or minor clerical jobs. Not one Negro has been given a supervisory or administrative post. For the first time in its history, ASCS named four Negroes this year to the policy making state committees. However, two of these were in Missouri and Maryland, hardly the deep South. Although 20% of the farmers in the 11 Southern states are Negro, only two men—the committeemen in Arkansas and Mississippi—have been elevated by Washington to a position of influence in ASCS.

In search of a way to appease civil rights groups, ASCS has devised a system of Negro "advisory" committees which smack of Jim Crowism. Three to five man groups of Negro "leaders"—businessmen, clergymen and farmers—have been appointed in 16 states to consult with the regular committees on Negro farm problems. These advisory committees have no vote in policy, nor are their recommendations binding. ASCS regulations require that the two groups meet only four times a year.

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Britain Circumvents, While U.S. Still Ignores, UN Oil Embargo Resolution

Contrast Between Our Asian and African Policies Spurs Black Racialism

Perhaps the most important point made by the National Council of Churches in its truly Christian statement on Vietnam is its warning that "no conceivable victory there can compensate for the distrust and hatred of the United States" that is being generated "because we are seen as a predominantly white nation using our overwhelming military strength to kill more and more Asians." The picture will be made worse if the U.S. continues to respond as weakly as it has to the growing crisis over Rhodesia. This threatens to erupt in a racial war that can have ugly repercussions the world over.

Zambia's Whites Pro-Rhodesian

A neuralgic point is the effort of Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, president of neighboring Zambia, to maintain non-racialistic government in his black republic. Its 68,000 whites have 10 of the 75 seats in the National Assembly (pop. 3,600,000), a generous representation, but most of them, especially the railwaymen and the miners, are of Rhodesian or South African origin and in sympathy with the white supremacist rebels across the border. Dr. Kaunda, according to Colin Legum, writing from the Zambian capital in the London *Sunday Observer* Dec. 5, is fearful that the longer the rebellion continues in Rhodesia "and the more confident the whites become as the result, the great will be the dangers of a racial flareup."

Black bitterness is mounting over the failure of the great powers to honor the UN call for an oil embargo. The London *Sunday Times* Dec. 5, reported that British Petroleum, in which the United Kingdom government has a controlling interest, "is getting around the ban on oil for Rhodesia imposed by Persia, the regular supplier" by shipping oil from the independent Persian Gulf oil state of Abu Dhabi. The British government was informed five days before the tanker shipment left but made no objection. So far only Iran and Libya have responded to the UN call for an oil embargo. Two American companies, Caltex and Mobil, share ownership of the Rhodesian refinery with British Petroleum and other companies.

Another source of ill-feeling is the kind of planes sent to Zambia by Britain to protect it from Rhodesia. The Zambian Foreign Minister on arriving in Addis Ababa for the recent meeting of the Organization of African Unity protested that the British Royal Air Force sent Javelins which are "out of date" and "absolutely no match" for the Hawker Hunters in the Rhodesian Air Force (AP in *Baltimore Sun*, Dec. 5). The London *Sunday Times* Dec. 5 confirms this, saying that the Javelins represent "little more than a gesture of compliance with Dr. Kaunda's demands for assistance". It adds, "A force sufficient to intimidate Rhodesia could be provided by the U.S., but with the rapid escalation of the Vietnam war is scarcely likely to be embarked on with enthusiasm." The Africans will be saying that we have plenty of planes to enforce what we claim is the right of self-determination in South Vietnam but none to protect it in southern Africa.

The Mimeographs on Which Our Caesar Feeds

"The White House policy on administration press releases is causing a number of problems for U.S. agencies and their specialized 'clients'. Under Press Secretary Bill Moyers, the White House insists on seeing press releases before they are distributed. If some look unusually interesting—or it is a slow day around the White House—Moyers' office often distributes them. Otherwise they are returned to the agencies involved for distribution. All this takes time, and many routine releases of interest only to specialized journals are delayed as much as weeks before they are finally released. This has proved annoying to these specialists who used to be able to pick up releases at a set time each month, and is equally bothersome to the harassed agency press officers."

—Washington Sunday Star, *Dec. 5.*

A Maverick Scientist Questions The Value of The Circuses We Stage in Space

"By the time Apollo men land on the moon, the U.S. will have spent $35 billion on space. The public may demand some reckoning of its return on this prodigious investment. To date the public has been given unsupported promises about the practical benefits of the space program. The public has been told that for every dollar spent on space, two dollars will flow back to the public benefit. The back flow is a vastly propagandized trickle.

"In their enthusiasm to promote space ventures, NASA officials and advisers sometimes make unearthly assertions. Dr. George E. Mueller, Associate Administrator, Office of Manned Space Flight, recently told a Senate committee 'We may find gold on the moon and gold may be scarce enough by that time so it will pay us to process it on the lunar surface and bring it back here to earth.' A lunar mining corporation (one has to assume that free enterprise will be permitted on the moon) has to consider the cost of transporting miners and equipment to the moon, working deposits, refining the metal and shipping it back to earth. Merely transporting a shovel to the moon would cost twice its weight in pure gold.

"NASA has already spent $1.3 billion for research in lunar and planetary science. This is high-priced science when we compare the amounts which the National Science Foundation allocates to basic research. NSF this year has awarded a total of $76 million in 1,300 grants to over 5,000 scientists. No wonder that a respected geophysicist exclaimed: 'This space science research is sheer lunacy! We're spending more on Mars than to study the earth.'

"It is difficult to believe that the scientific community in the U.S. really believes in the space research program. I believe that it has gone along with the Apollo project [to land a man on the moon] because that was a Presidential decision. Many scientists receive lavish NASA support and are still unwilling to look a gift horse in the mouth. But now Mr. James Webb, NASA Administrator, has called for 'national decisions in space to be arrived at through a national consensus.' It would be appropriate for the National Academy of Sciences to conduct a referendum of its members on U.S. space research.

"Science is too valuable a resource to be squandered needlessly. If NASA's budget must be propped up to keep full employment in the aerospace industry, one is tempted to suggest it would be proper to merge NASA with the Office of Economic Opportunity."

—Ralph E. Lapp, whose latest book "The New Priesthood", deals with the relations between science and government, in a speech at Central Conn. State College, Dec. 2.

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The Viet Cong Put Out A Possible Peace Feeler For the Christmas Season

(*Continued from Page One*)

mittee in a speech in Texas Dec. 4 and called for "restraint" in domestic expenditure. The assistant chief of the war on poverty, Joseph Kershaw, told a conference in San Francisco two days later, "If the military budget goes up anything like what most people suspect, many of the Great Society projects will have to be severely cut back, if not abandoned."

The Price of An Unmanned Trip to Mars

Yet the entire war on poverty budget is only $1.5 billion, or just about the cost of one Voyager unmanned trip to Mars (see Ralph Lapp's remarks on p. 3). The same day a conservative group investigating the Watts uprising warned that racial tensions could "split our society irretrievably," especially when anti-poverty promises do not "live up to their press notices." The bombs that began to fall on North Vietnam last February will end by devastating our own slums and exacerbating our own "colonial" problem. Our urban jungles, too, may sprout terrorists and guerrilla fighters; this was the warning of Watts, but it will be lost in the war alarms. The same voices which urge, like Mahon's, cutback in domestic programs are beginning to lend a sympathetic ear as he did in his Dec. 4 speech to the cry for an anti-ballistic missile system to cost from $8 to $20 billions. The irrationality of war tends always to emphasize all that is most irrational in our own society.

Younger voices in both parties like Mayor-elect Lindsay of New York last Sunday on *Issues and Answers* and Senator Robert F. Kennedy on *Meet the Press* express their alarm over further escalation of the war. The general board of the National Council of Churches in Wisconsin last Friday and the East Asia Christian Conference in Bangkok last Saturday (*New York Times,* Dec. 8) called for an end to the bombing of North Vietnam as an essential step toward peace. The American correspondents seem to have ignored but Victor Zorza of the *Manchester Guardian* reports (*Washington Post,* Dec. 8) a Vietcong offer of a 12-hour Christmas Eve truce. "Once some such preliminary negotiations have taken place," and the lull lengthened, this famous expert on Communism suggests, "a cease-fire in the field could provide the atmosphere in which the more difficult political talks could begin." Will this possible peace feeler be exploited, or will this Christian country prefer to celebrate Christmas with more slaughter? The latest Rusk and McNamara statements indicate we want nothing less than unconditional surrender as the price of calling off the war. That road leads toward war with China. Before we head down it irrevocably, let us stop and consider that while we can indeed destroy on a scale Attila never dreamed of, even in victory retribution will exact a heavy price at home, above all in the brutalization of our hearts.

Noon, Dec. 8

What Kennedy Learned in Latin America

Sen. Robert KENNEDY: There are serious reservations about our policy in Latin America, and I found that in every country that I visited, in all walks of life and in all areas. A good part of it focusses on the problem of the Dominican Republic, and a part of it the feeling that the U.S. might intervene in their own policies. . . .

Mr. SPIVACK: What were some of the misunderstandings about our policy?

Senator KENNEDY: I think basically the fact that American business determines the internal (sic) policy of the U.S., that the government is in control of Wall Street, that all of our policies toward Latin America, toward Vietnam, toward the rest of the world are determined on the basis of what is good for American business, not on a humanitarian basis. . . .

Mr. SPIVACK: What do you consider the most serious mistakes we have made in Latin America?

Sen. KENNEDY: We have intervened in their internal affairs over the period of the last 75 years at various times. We have, to the detriment of some of the countries and the peoples of the countries, backed up American businesses and we were able to do so because of our own strength. . . . [After emphasizing land reform and positive action.] If all we do on the other hand is associate ourselves with those forces which are against subversion and against communism and have rather a negative policy, then I think it is self-defeating and will be catastrophic after a period of a few years. *—On Meet the Press, Dec. 5 (abr.).*

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